1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

over, he is aware that by certain means he may have good expectations of beseeching, cajoling, deceiving, or rendering powerless any supernatural beings whom he may meet. This attitude is typical; the Bella Coola by no means move in constant dread of the mysterious denizens of the forests, nor do they eagerly hope for their appearance; they have their likes and dislikes, their moments of weakness and of strength, their times of greatness and of pettiness, all to be considered with care and forethought.

One of the beings for whom the older people have a profound respect is *Ṫlitcäplilän·a*, a supernatural woman whose home is in *Nusmät·a*, but who frequently visits this earth. She can be recognized by her snout-like mouth and long, pendant breasts, but even when beyond the range of vision her proximity can be detected by her singing. *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* often takes pity on a person who is dangerously ill and visits him, not only curing the malady but bringing the sufferer a name and song. In many cases he is thus made a shaman with power to cure. At other times *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* bestows her favours on a person in good health, so that wise Bella Coola are always hoping to meet her. Such an experience is not without its dangers, for she is so powerful that nearness to her may be enough to cause death. The exploits of those who have come in contact with *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* belong to shamanism and will be reserved for vol. I, chap. IX.

Ṫlitcäplilän·a, though her great power inspires fear, usually behaves in a kindly manner to mortals, who accordingly welcome her. But it is quite otherwise with *Sxaiaxwax*, whose coming almost invariably brings death.[11] He is a black-faced being of repulsive appearance and sensual nature, whose chief function is to seduce women. For this purpose he often skulks near a village at night, and assumes the voice and appearance of a girl's lover to lure her into the forest. Fearlessly she goes with him, but if she allows his approaches, a hemorrhage results and she soon dies. There is said to be no limit to the number

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 42.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

of his disguises. For example, he once appeared at New Westminster in the form of a handsome white man; a Bella Coola girl yielded to his pleadings, but as soon as he had left her, she began to bleed and died.[12] He is so evil that shamans can rarely cure anyone visited by him. *Sxaiaxwax* usually carries a stick which he need only to point at a woman to cause her death.

Nor are men exempt from *Sxaiaxwax*'s visitations. Sometimes he sneaks up behind a man and seizes his arms, so that he cannot see who has gripped him. He is soon released but no matter how quickly he turns around can never see his captor. Presently he begins to bleed from mouth and nose and death follows. *Sxaiaxwax* may become visible under such conditions. One old man stated that his son had once been playing outside the village at Kimsquit when he rushed into the house weeping and saying that he had been seized by a black-faced man. In a few minutes his nose began to bleed so that his father knew it was *Sxaiaxwax* who had visited him. Nothing was of any avail and the lad died. His approach is usually heralded by a series of grunting, explosive puffs, like those of a big bear rising sulkily. If, warned by the sound, the hearer turn sharply, he can escape danger. An informant described how, when camped on Labouchere Channel, he had once gone to the river for water with two companions, a man and a woman. They all heard these gasping puffs and turned, but he alone had jumped from the path quickly enough. The other two began to pant like *Sxaiaxwax* himself; blood gushed from their mouths and genital organs and they soon died.

Like other supernatural beings, *Sxaiaxwax* has his limitations. Though he comes to this earth he can travel only on fixed paths, invisible to mortals. If either a man or a woman is unfortunate enough to fall asleep on one of these tracks, it is

[12] A curious blending of aboriginal and white man's beliefs was recorded in connection with this incident. It is said that as the girl's seducer left her, carrying his hat in his hand, she saw two horns rising from his forehead and realized that her lover had been *Sxaiaxwax*.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

easy for *Sxaiaxwax* to gain control over them, and the sleeper wakes to find that he has been bleeding profusely and death is inevitable. This occurred to a man whose experiences are described in vol. I, chap. IX.

Although *Sxaiaxwax* is usually a curse to mortals, he can also do good. Occasionally he makes a man a shaman, and in many cases he helps a woman in childbirth. Such beneficent acts are not sufficient to counterbalance his evil deeds, and he remains one of the most dreaded of Bella Coola supernatural beings, a monster whose machinations make camping in a strange place a dangerous undertaking, and who is as likely to strike down rich or poor, young or old.

Less feared than *Sxaiaxwax*, because he appears less frequently, is *Allät·iaiut*. The Bella Coola speak of this being with trepidation, but little definite information could be obtained concerning him. He has human form and sometimes comes at dusk to cause death by carrying away a man's spirit.[11] The home of this creature appears to be beneath the earth rather than in *Nusmät·a*.

A third dreaded being who, like the two preceding, usually lives on this earth and only visits in *Nusmät·a*, is *Sä·lma*, "The Death Dealer." He, too, appears in human form and can be distinguished by the nose-ring which he always wears. Sudden death in the forest is always attributed to "The Death Dealer." If a man is engulfed by a slide, or killed by a falling tree, it is because this malevolent being has entered the slide or tree. Some Bella Coola say that he is responsible for animals who kill hunters. He rarely carries out his designs with the aid of sickness, nor is death by drowning often attributed to him, but for all other fatal disasters he must take the blame. While a corpse is resting in a coffin awaiting burial, *Sä·lma* invariably sits on the cover, though none can see him. Instances are known in which even this monster has acted in a kindly manner.

The supernatural beings thus far described are usually

[11] See vol. I, pp. 94-7.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776*

the rescue of *Ɛxwumxwumlaix* they saw him being carried downstream to a salmon-weir about three hundred yards below. The trap was raised at once, but it was too late; the rash fisherman was dead. No one could give a name to the supernatural being who had caused his death; it was merely one of those dwelling under the river.

[539] [761]

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are really their supernatural prototypes.

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These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as uncanny rather than dangerous. But there is one undersea being whom the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe; he is *Ɂomoqwa* (see Plate 10), lord of the supernatural ones beneath the ocean, as *Ałquntām* is lord of those dwelling above. He lives in an enormous house under the sea wherein the fish, the sea-mammals, and the sea-plants have their home. The Bella Coola believe that these beings can take human form at will,[11] and assume that their behaviour in *Ɂomoqwa*'s dwelling corresponds to that of human beings in the house of an earthly chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various occasions, leaving to their descendants tales of the wonders it contained. These accounts have become family myths and are described with others of similar type in Chap. VI, vol. I. Records of this kind vary greatly in detail; in fact, few agree more than in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that denizens of the sea appear in *Ɂomoqwa*'s house in the flesh; other myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Ɂomoqwa*. Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of the undersea beings who serve him and hunt for him, the blackfish being especially proficient in this respect. *Ɂomoqwa* resents any slight to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is unkind to them.

761 773 776*

[424] [184]

[11] Bella Coola concepts concerning the transformability of men and animals will be described in the next section of this chapter.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Although *Q̓omoqwa* has often been seen by mortals, no one has ever been able to describe his countenance. He always wears a huge hat, beneath which his blackened face, covered with eagle down, is barely visible, since he constantly keeps turning it away from the observer. Occasionally he comes to the surface and has been known even to walk on it. Like other supernatural beings, he is able to ascend to *Nusmāt·a*, though it is not his home. The dread with which the Bella Coola regard *Q̓omoqwa* is due to his ability to suck canoes down to his home at the bottom of the ocean as if in a whirlpool. He is usually hungry, and nothing pleases him more than human flesh. None the less, he does not destroy life without cause. It angers him to hear his name spoken, so no Bella Coola utters it when on the ocean, for fear that he may be engulfed. Whenever a person is drowned at sea it is believed that the cannibalistic *Q̓omoqwa* has drawn him down for a meal.

To insert the many stories describing *Q̓omoqwa* at this point would unduly break the continuity of this account, so the following simple example must suffice.

Not many years ago four Bella Bella fishermen were trying to anchor near China Hat. Owing to the action of the supernatural beings dwelling below, the bottom of the ocean rose and lowered abruptly so that their anchor would not hold as the rope was in many cases too short. They were much annoyed by this and, as they strove to fasten their craft, they were exasperated at a lard-fish which kept swimming closely around the canoe. At last one of the fishermen reached out, seized it with his hands, and tore it to pieces, throwing these back on the water. Presently their anchor held and the four went to sleep. But *Q̓omoqwa* had seen the insult shown to the lard-fish and, as they slept, he sucked down their canoe until, on awakening, they found themselves in the huge house of the lord of the undersea world. There was no water in it, but they recognized where they must be from the fact that the walls were decorated with paintings of marine beings and with ancient tools from canoes lost at sea. An old woman who lives in *Q̓omoqwa*'s house called the four to her fire in the corner and asked them whether they had any false hellebore with them. If they had, they would escape, but otherwise nothing could save them from *Q̓omoqwa*, who at that very moment was calling his friends for a feast of human flesh. Presently *Q̓omoqwa* entered, followed in succession by a number of undersea chiefs,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every Bella Coola knows of his existence.

Another supernatural craft is that of *Wiwuina*.[1] It, too, brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west. Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for *kusiut* dancers. Although both *Nuákgnom* and *Wiwuina* can easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural power. *Wiwuina* will be described in greater detail in connection with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winâ·t di Sâ·lâlja·t*, "The War-Party of the Tide," or *Winâ·t di Ṣaṣa*, "The War-Party of the Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Ṣaṣa·sa'*. This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Ṣaṣa·sa'*, and anyone placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake like *Ṣaṣa·sa'*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from *Ṣaṣa·sa'* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has happened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like, and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore

[1] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

1:16:Dorsett E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NES

walk backwards, or on their heads. Mortals sometimes see ghosts, but the apparition seals their lips so that they cannot recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of conditions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is scarce in that land and ghosts are often driven up to earth to search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their hunger, so that mortals throw fragments on the fire for the benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand; no wise Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do so would offend the hungry spectre. Deceased beings are generally viewed, although instances are known in which they have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so many supernatural beings, they figure most prominently as patrons of *Tsaiyai* dancers (see vol. II, chap. i). Further information concerning them is contained in the description of life after death.

Not even a complete list of beings would exhaust the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to this source. For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought that he must be from another world. Some thought him a dead man returned to life, and others considered him a supernatural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was ultimately decided that he must be *Semese*, a supernatural being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[1]

[1] Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of natives of that period were still remembered in 1922. When word happened the Bella Coola was his ability to make fire quickly. One man, now living, stated that he had heard from his mother that her father had spoken with him. Traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted. One Klamath man, for example,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NES

and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be learnt, *Ahhut'* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor played any part in the social life of the community. They are feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *Aankaa*. It is an enormous bird with bony wings and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings rattle violently, and its note, an oft repeated "*Haa, haa, haa,*" can be heard for miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures representing them are often used at *Anuiut* dances. The *Aankaa* is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing forth his entrails. This can be prevented by standing upright a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.

A popular story states that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped at the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and beak of a *Aankaa* projecting over the rim of the canyon and sucking his partner's entrails. The convulsive shiver of the stricken man had awakened him. With his bow he shot an arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased at dawn. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff, he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a roosting place for the birds. His companions seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead; only the slightly enlarged orifice showed how they had been killed.

No *Aankaa* has been seen within recent years, but one informant and her husband heard them on the south side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

Boas, McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

been frightened at any time but nightfall increased their fears. Their dogs heard the sound and howled in dread. The woman threw on their fire several soiled blankets, her only pair of shoes, and some dry salmon, which all supernatural beings abhor. Then she and her husband fled home, waving lanterns to and fro and firing musket shots in all directions. The birds did not follow them, but they considered themselves fortunate to reach Bella Coola unmolested.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural animals just described are fairly exact; they know their appearance, what to expect, and what to do if one is encountered. In addition to these, they assume the existence of monsters of indefinite form which they term *swaq*. Any supernatural creature, a *Aäkuk'* for example, is spoken of as a *swaq* in general, not specific, classification. Consequently, what one Bella Coola may describe as a *swaq* is given a distinctive name by someone else with wider knowledge. As far as could be learnt, there is no designation other than *swaq* for creatures which move from the ocean in April to clear the way for salmon and spend the summer in the lakes of the interior, or beneath the ice of glaciers. They can assume various forms, sometimes even human, though they usually appear as giant, hairless, bear-like creatures with short legs and brown skin. Their eyes are large, round, and glass-like. In whatever form these creatures may appear, they are almost certain to bring disaster to the beholder. One of the haunts of *swaq* is beneath the glacier on Mount *Qāwaa·i*, behind the small mountain which rises behind *Kwaqa·ti*, on the south side of the Bella Coola River about half a mile from the sea. It is said that only a few years ago a white man, having heard of these creatures, went to that place with a number of Bella Coola. All the latter were able to hear the roaring of the beasts, louder than the whistle of a steamer, but the white man seemed deaf to it, though the power of the *swaq* had affected him, for he died on the way back to the village.

Other *swaq* are said to live near Kimsquit. The father of

1:34cIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

a woman now in middle age is said to have guided a white man to the spot. Through a telescope he saw an enormous animal, and passed the instrument to a Kimsquit Indian in the party. He, too, saw it, but the effect was so powerful that he soon died. Theoretically, a man may receive supernatural aid from one of these monsters, but practically they are regarded as entirely evil and to be avoided.

The creature to which the term *snuxy* is most often applied is one that lives in lakes; it has a huge mouth and can suck with incredible force. More specifically, this animal is termed a *sḥámtsḥ*. One is said to have lived not long ago at Winter Bay, about six miles from Bella Coola, and a small one is said to be living even now in Ootsa Lake. The Bella Coola tell a number of stories concerning the *sḥámtsḥ*; the following is a typical account, and others will be given with folk-tales in a later chapter.

Within the life-time of an informant, two youths, a chief's son and a poor man's son, went to swim in one of the small lakes near Ootsa Lake. The chief's son who was ready first, swam out, wearing a fancy belt, leaving his companion on the shore. When the latter was on the point of diving in he heard a dreadful sucking noise, combined with an ominous crackling. He called to the swimmer asking him if he, too, heard it.

"Yes," came the answer, "But it is nothing," and the youth continued his swim.

As the noise grew louder the boy on the bank cried out: "Come back, come back, there is something bad there that we do not understand."

His friend in the water again answered: "Oh! There is nothing wrong."

The noise increased; sticks and stones were sucked from the bank and flew out towards the centre of the lake. The suction eventually grew so great that the youth on land was forced to clutch a tree-trunk with his arms, while his legs fluttered out towards the lake like pennants in a strong wind. The strain on his arms was so terrific that he was almost forced to relinquish his grip before the suction subsided. When he looked at the lake the swimmer had vanished.

The survivor returned to the village and reported what had happened. No one believed his story; instead, he was made a prisoner, accused of having killed the chief's son. For a week the people questioned him daily without being able to shake his story; then they resolved to

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

539 seized and carried to the shore. He had thought that it would
* 796 be easy to free himself, but he found it impossible and was carried under the sea. He bit frantically at the enfolding arms, until he succeeded in freeing his own, with which he pushed up the beak of the octopus, thus killing it. He rose to the surface and returned home none the worse.

[825] The Bella Coola do not profess to know all the animals of the world; and if they see a strange one, they assume it to be one known to their ancestors though unfamiliar to them.
539 Since any unknown animal is considered to have supernatural
● 761 power, due care must be exercised when one is seen. The fol-
* 796 lowing incident illustrates this point.

825 The mother's brother of an informant worked for some thirty years for a white man in Victoria. His employer once sent him to see a turtle which was confined in a pool in a basement preparatory to being killed for a banquet. As soon as he saw it, he said:

"My parents in Bella Coola told me of such a creature."

A few days before Christmas the turtle was cut up and displayed on four platters in the window of the store; the Bella Coola saw it, and thus learned that it had been killed. The same night a sore appeared on his wrist, and by the next day it was large and running. He said to his employer:

"In a few days I will be dead. Do not grieve for me. The sight of such supernatural creatures is too powerful for Indians; I survived one experience, but twice has been too much for me and I will die."

His employer wisely sent him to a white doctor who cured him, although the scar remained. Years later the man returned to Bella Coola where he displayed the mark as proof of his story. A few weeks later he died, and the Bella Coola are firmly convinced that his death was due to his having seen the turtle many years before.

* 796 Although the forests of British Columbia abound with
989 supernatural animals of enormous power, the attitude of the
[781] Bella Coola hunter who penetrates into lonely places is not one of constant fear. It is true that he may meet danger at any turn, but danger is part and parcel of human life, and he is by no means defenceless. He dreads the powers possessed by creatures of another plane, but they for their part dread certain human objects. Clothing which has been worn for so long that it has become steeped with the emanations of its

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

The most spectacular of Raven's exploits was the theft of the sun in order to provide light for the world (I, p. 298). In this case, a valuable object was acquired for mankind, but often Raven interfered with the kindly aims of *Älquntäm*, a point illustrated in the following account of the origin of death:[28]

In the beginning of time, before people had really become human, Raven made a boy from his own body, gave him life, and called him *O·miatlmai*. His creation was Raven's chief joy. The youth was beautiful; his feet and hands were especially small and light-coloured, and Raven gloried in what he had been able to do without the assistance of his friend *Yulätimut*, the Carpenter. All went well until *O·miatlmai* was about fifteen years of age when *Älquntäm* wanted to find out about this being which Raven had created. Accordingly, he sent to earth one of his *Snulsılktäls* to carry off *O·miatlmai*. At that time there were four *Snulsılktäls* in *Nusmät·a*, huge, eagle-like, supernatural birds under the especial care of *Älquntäm* himself. Down swooped one of these creatures and carried the youth aloft to *Nusmät·a*, where he was treated as a guest by *Älquntäm*.

Raven, ignorant of the reason for his loss, was heart-broken. He pulled out his hair and for four days sat and pondered. Then he decided to wage war on the *Snulsılktäls*, not knowing that the latter had been acting by command of *Älquntäm*. Raven went to *Yulätimut* and asked him to make a huge whale. The carpenter was surprised and enquired about the purpose, whereupon Raven told him of the loss of *O·miatlmai*, and how he hoped that the *Snulsılktäls* would be lured into swooping down to fight the dummy and would be vanquished. *Yulätimut* agreed to help him and worked for four days on a gigantic cedar, chiselling it out like a canoe, but in the shape of an enormous whale. Then for four days he gathered gum and covered the wooden monster with a layer about an inch thick; finally he painted the outer surface to resemble a whale. It was a very fine piece of work. That night Raven asked *Yulätimut* to launch it. The stomach had been weighted so that it could either sink or float and there was room for a man inside to steer it. The whale acted according to specification, diving and rising easily, moving to right or left according to the wishes of the helmsman. Raven was delighted.

Early next morning *Yulätimut* again launched the craft at Raven's request, and it wallowed around near the shore like a real whale. *Älquntäm*

[28] Related by Jim Pollard.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

539
* 776
761

saw it, and despatched one of his *Snulsilkäls* to fetch it. He chose *Nunusmaoak*, "He Who Carries One," the *Snulsilkäls* able to lift one of anything. Down swooped *Nunusmaoak*, and seized the dummy in his talons, but, as he flapped his wings in an effort to rise, they became stuck in the gum so that he could neither lift his quarry nor escape. When the whale dived he was drowned. Many people on the shore watched the struggle. Then *Älquntäm* despatched another *Snulsilkäls*, *Nunulnusek*, "He Who Carries Two," who is able to carry two of anything. *Nunulnusek* likewise gripped the whale with his claws and succeeded in raising it slightly before his wings stuck in the gum and he, too, fell back and was drowned. Then *Älquntäm* sent down *Nunuäsmusek*, "He Who Carries Three," the *Snulsilkäls* able to lift three of anything. *Nunuäsmusek* gripped the whale as his predecessors had done, and lifted it about ten feet in the air before his wings became stuck like those of the others, and he, too, fell back and was drowned. *Älquntäm*, much worried, called to him *Nunumu·sek*, "He Who Carries Four," the *Snulsilkäls* able to carry four of anything, and despatched him after telling him how his three brothers had been overcome in their efforts to carry the monster away. *Nunumu·sek* swooped down with a powerful rush, gripped the whale firmly at the back of its neck, and carried it far aloft into the sky. Gradually the gum interfered with his wing-beats; they became more rapid and strained, until slowly he began to fall, still struggling. All the while his wings were being more and more hampered, till finally he, too, was powerless, and with a resounding splash fell with the whale into the water where he, likewise, was drowned. When no more *Snulsilkäls* appeared, the helmsman inside guided his strange craft back to the beach, where he exhibited his prey to the spectators. The story does not record how he was able to disengage them from the gum and take them into his whale. All the people were amazed at the dead *Snulsilkäls*, for their huge bony wings resembled nothing ever seen before.

Raven was not satisfied with his success, because, though he had slain the *Snulsilkäls*, he had not recovered *O·mistimai*. He went to his house still weeping at the loss of his child. *Älquntäm* and *O·mistimai* had seen Raven's sorrow, and the former sent the boy back. When *O·mistimai* entered the house he said to Raven:

"Don't cry. Here I am. I saw your grief and have returned."

Raven looked at the speaker and replied: "No. You are not my son. He had beautiful flowing locks."

O·mistimai had indeed appeared without any hair on his head, but he explained his loss by saying:

"Truly I am your son, *O·mistimai*. I have been up in *Nusmät·a* where there was such a gale that my hair was blown away."

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Raven, blinded by his grief, did not believe him, and responded angrily:

"No, youare not my son. Why do you lie to me? Get out of this house."

Disgusted at this reception, *O·mistimai* obeyed. Just as he was passing through the doorway, Raven noticed the tattoo marks on his legs, and realized that, in spite of the change in his appearance, the visitor was really his son. He called on him to return, but *O·mistimai* paid no attention to his father's entreaties and sped far away. Raven's grief was beyond expression, but he could do nothing to repair the damage he had done. If it had not been for Raven's mistake, all mortals would return to life four days after death. [304]

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The above myth is widely known among the Bella Coola, and is supposed to be historically accurate. At the same time, few people allow it to influence their thoughts with regard to death or its causes. It is a fact, but one that belongs to the realm of ancient history rather than to everyday experience. When a Bella Coola dies, his relatives, though they know that his death is due to the folly of Raven, tacitly overlook this, and do not feel bitterly towards Raven. Bella Coola beliefs and theology are not systematized, hence it is quite possible for a person to realize a certain fact, such as the cause of death, and yet disregard it entirely. Considering that absolute contradictions can be believed simultaneously, it is not difficult to picture the mental attitude of people who believe, and at the same time disregard their belief.

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One of Raven's spectacular, and at the same time, beneficial exploits was the bringing of sockeye salmon to the Bella Coola River.[87]

In the beginning of time, no sockeye salmon inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to supply them. First he tried making wooden fish and throwing them into the water, but though he could animate them, they always died after jumping a few times. The reason for his failure, though he did not know it, was because he had omitted the small bone [774]

[771]

[87] This is an example of conflicting beliefs. In addition to assuming that salmon were sent down by *Alquntam* to furnish food for mankind, and that Raven supplied them in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola also believe that they are brought each year both by *Nedzyaw* and *Winwina*.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *silk*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite association with it, too, is breath, *sininits*, provided by *Alquntăm* for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Alquntăm* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[753] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter.
[756] They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

cases it tarries near the corpse for four days, or it may start at once on its travels. Distance means nothing to it, nor does time; once disembodied it goes back on the path of its late owner's ancestors from generation to generation, until it reaches the spot where his first forefather came to this earth. Here it assumes the bird or animal form used on that occasion and goes up to *Nusmät·a*. It is uncertain whether or not the spirit can take on, simultaneously, the different shapes used by various ancestors of the deceased. Its existence in the land above is similar to that on earth, but in an advanced degree. A good carpenter, for example, is a better carpenter after death; a chief is a greater chief; and one of the explanations for death is that *Älquntäm* has called a man to continue his work in another sphere. *Nusmät·a* is so huge that it is never crowded, though the spirits are immortal. They can see what is taking place on earth and sometimes return in bird or animal form to visit and comfort their grieving relatives. Powerful chiefs delight to display this, by means of a masked figure, as the central feature of a potlatch. Apart from this ceremonial usage, disembodied spirits play no part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They take no interest in human beings and accordingly are neither supplicated nor feared.

THE LIFE

Closely associated with the spirit is the *sxuxmänoäs lkt*, life.[38] As in the previous case, *Älquntäm* provides every human being and every animal with this at birth. It is an ethereal substance, having the form of the body which it animates; without it there can be neither strength nor growth; without life the body is an inert mass of flesh. As a person becomes older, so does this element grow, always taking the exact shape and form of the body. Alone, it can neither move nor think, its motive power being the spirit. It is the life that suffers

[38] Interpretations have been employed whenever possible to lessen the use of confusing native terms. *Life* is not an accurate translation of this Bella Coola word, but it is hoped that the reader will grasp its real significance from the description in this section.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

It is the life that suffers
761 whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dan-
[752] gerous, but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible
[827] lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly and is in many cases fatal.

761 It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves
774 his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the supernatural beings in *Nusmät·a* to greet *Älquntäm*. It is common knowledge that some part of the human body does this, but there is diversity of opinion regarding which it may be. Some say it is the spirit, but the consensus of opinion is that it is the life. If it is successful and receives presents in the land above, its owner will prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, he will be the same; if it falls in the crush as the guests hurry forth to escape the heat of *Älquntäm*'s entry, he will die. By dreams
761 a man learns the fortune of his supernatural representative,
787 and from them he can judge what is in store for him during the coming year and receive intimations concerning birth and death, secret society matters and, in fact, every phase of human activity, since all are decided at the meeting of *Älquntäm* and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially important at this season of the year (I, p. 608) and information obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present firm conviction that some portion of the body actually ascends.
[182] Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising, nor does it alter the importance of this conviction. No attempt is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during the annual absence of his life.

761 Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole. One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat, another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The con-

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

nection of these with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of the life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which opinions differ. Only men of philosophical temperament even hazard an opinion on such matters, which are beyond the realm of daily routine.

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the useless flesh begins to decay. At the same time the life is freed to travel as an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the scene of death. Sometimes it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of pregnancy (I, p. 615). It wants to see former friends and sometimes makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away in some distant place. At other times, a man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. During the existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former sometimes accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to *Nusmät·a*.

After four days the life descends to the land below where it lives forever as a ghost. Some believe that it is the shadow which assumes this form, but the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural bodies, and further information will be found in vol. I, chap. VIII.

At death, when the life as a whole becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs enters a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, enters

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

761 775 825 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree behind *Nusmät-a*. This element of a dead person occasionally communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the following story.

[539] [827] A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

761 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*.

THE TALLY POST

773 777 In the beginning of time, when *Älquntäm* sent the first people down to earth, he erected in *Nusmät-a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with
693 enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a ceremonial *kusiut* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner. One of these men, who lived at *Ăsăn·ăn·i*, always used a stone club which had been handed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Ăsăn·ăn·i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the *kusiut* society or when called upon by anyone. If, for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Ăsăn·ăn·i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

[688] [575] [428] [411] [754] [684] [682] [761]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period[1] she cannot eat fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat

[1] [i.e. - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

CAUSES OF DEATH

761 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. 761 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned,—the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere 776 accident—it is because *Q̣omoqwa* was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sä·lma* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [756] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does 753 sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super- [755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [775] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [726]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his supernatural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior rather than to his own ability.

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to account for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, thinking him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings are keen hunters, and that *Älquntäm* allows them to pursue influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death. It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before the death of *Potlas*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sonx*ʷ itself had fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours.

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendezvous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The din is indescribable.

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives, friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

764 friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through
[766] the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain
784 pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the
761 taboos to which a person performing this service was subject. If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For the same reason, a body must never be moved across the central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse has been taken through, the removed planks are quickly replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the doorway and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the pall-bearers follow the woman with the torch to the cemetery, taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction
[761] in which they are going; if a dead person is allowed to look backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse.
[423] There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative, but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers,
[767] nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

765 [789] [761] Indeed, a grave is never disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case, the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

768 [214] Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is [761] [784] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

764 431 556 [614] The rituals described above may be considered as religious in nature; almost equally important are the social requirements of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1968
NEA Bellacoola NEA

place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death.

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Xplaw'ik*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die.

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and

McDowell E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

775 accustomed to do when alive; but the workmanship is shadowy and unsubstantial, sometimes even transparent. Ghosts do not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, sometimes even on their hands, and spend much of their time playing a game resembling football with large, globular objects made of some light substance. They communicate with one another both by whistling and in a language which resembles the strongest of speech made by a vengeful person. Some 775 individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of 776 ghosts, *Alkā'aiaiē*, sent down like Pluto to preside over the shades. His figures in certain stories describing descents to the lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his existence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for his coming by night to molest human beings. Like *Swaiwas* he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitalia of anyone whom he seizes; death follows, and a new victim has been acquired for his kingdom. The more common belief is 775 that the villages of ghosts have chiefs like those of human beings. It is thought, indefinitely, that after a long period of time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to 845 this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its ears, which are regarded as indications of previous borings for rings, is welcomed as the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the land below, but remains for four days within the back room of a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola 772 dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is beneath every village* and that the dead pass straight down through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it, have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a newcomer has arrived. The wraiths assemble from all directions and fight over the articles, some of which are obtained 768 by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

*There may be no large house, extending beneath the earth like Hunt's above, it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

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vive to speak to living relatives, but his whistling language is unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine, and the only means known to keep them away from a house is to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and little even in seeing one, provided the observer does not relate his experience, but should he try to do so, something happens to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor drink and soon dies.* It is possible that other beings are responsible for this same affliction, but as no sufferer has ever been able to explain the cause of his silence, no one knows. The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried without a rose-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements. The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kwakiutl was described how, when encamped on King Island, he had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosening his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case, as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought was the noise of a water canal, and passed by heedlessly. In a few minutes he thought he heard the rattling of geese, but the sound, instead of continuing to come from a pool a few hun-

*The theme mentioned in the section of ghosts may be taken.

1:Mc Dermith E-5 (1922-1924)[968]
NEA Bellacoola NEA

wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it.

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *ejo*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mâtqas* or a *nûsaî*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a enemy to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mâtqas* or a *nûsaî*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach burns. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious.

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised ceremonial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cheerfulness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one.

Smithsonian E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

777 224 eloped, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discoverer of the nest of a mätqas. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and moths. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year. He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one [765] year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to its end will be four hairs of the mätqas. These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence. [735] During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phenomenal success. The knowledge of this proper procedure has [424] been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they 777 continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure * 787 to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before [772] long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew that it must be that of Tsuläkit, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the coward scraped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief. In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the monster toad. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died, [74]

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

insane, a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod.

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a *mātsqas*, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of the encounter.

Similar in function to the *mātsqas*, and equally dangerous to the unwary, is the *sxiuti*. The latter is supposed to have been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of time by T'ēēlitsmut. It was at first the canoe made by this carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains and floods, as it has ever since, equally at home on land and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical description of the manner in which a *sxiuti* appeared in the past.

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a salmon, which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two heads but no tail. He lunged at it with his stick, and in so doing started a slide which carried the salmon down the mountain. As this was taking place, the hunter said:

"Go down the mountain, salmon; I will get you at the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying clear on the ocean. He cut it up and slung it on a cedar-bark rope. Now this salmon was a *sxiuti*, the first that had ever been seen, and the hunter obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Sxiuti*, a designation which has been handed down until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *sxiuti*, and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

These become lilies (of the species known as *lälkändp* or *malilikwätsälätsälats*, "The most potent of the pond") from the roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a catamenial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *mätsqas* or a *tsiaiat*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *qekdn-i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wilnaxaxat*, who was also called *O'mäläl*, was snaring mountain goats on Mount *Tsopiniäl* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized, from descriptions given him by the old people, as the note of a *qekdn-i*.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

His Body." A shaman with this name does not use a rattle when curing.

Anuxelnimut, "Quivering To and Fro." This refers to the movements of a shaman when he dances for curative purposes.

Qpänpänliktnimlaix, "The Revolver." This is derived from *qpänliktnim*, to revolve sunwise, and as this is done for curative purposes, the name really signifies, "The One Who Restores to Strength."

It is believed that *Thitcäplilän-a* often uses her own discretion about visiting the sick, but that sometimes a number of the supernatural beings confer as to whether an ailing person should be helped, and if so request her to visit him. Sometimes the patient is so sick that an enormous amount of power must be inserted to help him, and he dies from its receipt. In such cases he is revived by *Anunitsktnim*, a male being whose sole function is to restore those whom *Thitcäplilän-a* has slain. This return to life has frequently occurred when relatives have been mourning the death of the patient, who is presently able to recount all that he has seen. Sometimes *Thitcäplilän-a*, instead of herself bestowing power upon a sick person, carries him[1] away to a locality in which a supernatural being was petrified in the beginning of time.

Although it is *Thitcäplilän-a* who most frequently cures a sick person, there are many instances of other supernatural beings having done so. Little seems to be known of these, except that they have been recorded as appearing to give a patient their name and to cure him of his malady. So far as could be ascertained, they are thought of only in connection with apparitions to the sick and, since in function they exactly resemble *Thitcäplilän-a*, and as it is she who is most commonly spoken of, it is possible, or even probable, that these are actually the same being under other names. The following beings are of this type.

[1] The Bella Coola do not theorize as to the part of the person thus transported; if questioned, they conclude that it must be the spirit.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 756* 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or olachen of the season (I, p. 436). [764]

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 192). [556]

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by puffing eagle down into the air (I, p. 106). [484]

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Mesatche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

jects have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclusion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to withdraw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman practises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by *Tlūxpūlūx·a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be immune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attributed to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

The following was related as an instance of the danger to a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nalkuz* was, like his father, named *Dudzeeq*". One April he and his wife went upstream to *Tsuxnūlx*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

tiful, of which they planned to collect a supply. In the course of their journey *Dudzeng*ʷ saw a man who, when he drew near, turned into a piece of hanging moss. A little later he again saw a figure, but on approaching it became a tree. *Dudzeng*ʷ and his wife walked on and presently the former once more beheld a man; this time the apparition changed to a fir tree. It was evident to *Dudzeng*ʷ that a supernatural being had manifested itself to him, and he told his wife that they must return. On reaching home he related his experience and gave a shaman's dance. 539 756* 787

From this experience he had received the power of curing. He could see disease when it was invisible to all others, and could summon it to himself, where it was harmless, thus restoring the patient to health. He made for himself a rattle, shaped like a bird; this had the ability of dancing of its own accord, and would catch people's hair in its opening and closing beak. The sick were brought to *Dudzeng*ʷ from all over the valley. One day he travelled by canoe down to *Snxl* where he found many of the villagers seriously ill. His arrival was quite fortuitous, for he was unaware of the epidemic that was raging. The inhabitants sought his help, so he landed and cured them. He entered the house of a woman who claimed to be ill, and took the sickness upon himself, but no sooner had he left than he fell down stricken. He demanded to be taken home in his canoe, but he only lived two days after his return. The woman had been in pain from her menses; it was this that he had taken upon himself and caused his death. 539 756* [761] [783] [841]

In consequence of the danger attached to the vocation, many people try to avoid becoming shamans, though if *Tlitcēplilēx-a* should appear to a man who ill, he cannot escape the power. The usual method of prevention is for a man to hold intercourse with his wife from blow, so that her flesh, impure through its liability to menses, can form a barrier to the coming of supernatural power. One who wishes to escape always sleeps on the left of his wife, whereas if he is seeking shaman's power he sleeps on the right. Another method of avoidance is to use the hole in the floor which serves as exit and entrance to the house of a girl secluded following adolescence. 756* [787] [833] [513]

Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience, and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death. As has been

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos would have caused his death.[1]

According to another account the creature that visits a patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *hähnk'*. As already described, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[2] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

Others of these animals of the same or similar variety have been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[1] See vol. I, p. 609 for further results of this treatment.
[2] There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

served ceremonial chastity and was, therefore, in a good position to receive premonitions of this kind. The next day, as they were paddling down the river, they came upon some treacherous ice. Forewarned, they hastily abandoned their canoe, one side of which was soon broken in the way *Tsälits* had described; if they had continued their journey they would certainly have been drowned. 787 *

The dreams thus far recorded have all been capable of simple explanation; in fact, their meaning is obvious, either visually or audibly. In addition, there are a number of types considered to be symbolic by the Bella Coola. There are no professional interpreters, but it is believed that in ancient times shamans learnt the significance of certain images and this knowledge has since been transmitted from generation to generation. [791] [756]

One type indicates a coming birth. If a woman dreams that she travels to some distant spot, under the ocean or into the mountains, and there takes something in her hand, it signifies that she will soon bear a male child; on the other hand, if she picks up some small object when gathering berries, a daughter will be born. A Kimsquit informant stated that before his birth, his mother dreamt that she had gone far under the mouth of the Dean River to the vicinity of *Lomoqwa*'s house, where she had taken up a child. From this she knew she was pregnant and he was born in due course. If the scene of the dream is in the mountains, it means that the child will be a good hunter; if under water, that he will be a successful fisherman, as it proved in this case. 787 * 843

There is a vague belief that death takes place either near the spot where the mother received indication of conception, or that the life and spirit of the deceased visit the place before setting out on their journey back from generation to generation. The old man from whom this information was obtained expects to meet death by drowning, though he is himself uncertain whether his premonition is due to his mother's dream or to the fact that there has been a tendency for this to occur in his family. 787 * [761] [775]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grandmother whose names she was promptly given. At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies.

A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is remembered that there were many dreams of fire before the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease.

The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

1;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 539 * 756 * 787 tune, remembering what the latter had told him the previous evening. He feared to follow his friend's track, and, as night came on, closed the tent and went to sleep, with the dog beside him. When it was quite dark he was wakened by the sound of footsteps and the tapping of a stick, and concluded that his partner was returning. The tent-flap was untied, as if by a person entering, but *Alyimlaix* could see nothing, so he kicked the dog to waken it and the animal began to bark furiously. At length he heard the steps withdraw and grow fainter as they climbed the mountain. [775] Then *Alyimlaix* realized that his friend was dead, and that it was his life, flashing round to visit his companions, which had come to him. Terrified, he lay awake all night with a blazing fire, and fled the next morning.

Alyimlaix chanced to meet several canoes soon after he had quitted his camp, and when he had told his story, their occupants turned back to hunt for *Nuwaxwmalsk*. About eighteen men searched all that day unsuccessfully, but a few days later another party found the corpse of the missing hunter. Presumably he had fired at the goat, though whether he struck it or not was not known, and the animal had charged. A wound in *Nuwaxwmalsk*'s groin showed where one of the horns had pierced him, and the two had rolled together to death over a precipice, the bodies becoming slightly separated in the fall.

Even if *Nuwaxwmalsk* had struck the goat it would not have availed him, since he was doomed to death. Not only had he taken great risks in hunting within one year of his previous experience, but his wife had been careless during his absence. He had long practised continence, and [785] thereby was in a clean condition such as is approved by animals, and [761] other supernatural beings, but this very condition rendered him peculiarly susceptible to any breaking of taboos by his wife. She had so far forgotten herself as to indulge in swinging when he was on the mountain, so that his death was inevitable. *Nuwaxwmalsk*'s relatives were very angry and prophesied that she would soon die. They were right, though whether her death was caused by a sorcerer, or by the accumulative power of their thoughts, is a matter no one can determine.

THE *Tlèqmā'ēx*

In the beginning of time, when *Aqaxtēm* sent down *Kāklāk'ō'ēx* to this earth, he used his own initiative and travelled to the east for abalone-shell and to the west for copper. On returning to his settlement, he determined to try to lure to it a supernatural being, of whose existence he was aware from his previous life in the land above. Accordingly, he fashioned some of the copper into jingling bangles, which he fastened to the ropes of his infant's cradle. Before the introduction of white men's cradles, the Bella Coola were accustomed to tie a child in a cloth and [777] [854]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Alquntâm* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used in a ceremonial.[1] Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost certain to do so. In June, 1921, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

[1] The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser duck as was used by Raskilis in the beginning of Cus.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

754 would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923,
761 and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse
789 until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the
828 year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this
[622] was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief
754 that a person cannot long survive who has made himself un-
828 popular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was
[538] employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives.

[648] When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since

[784] time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Preventive and Curative Medicines

Medicines of Infancy and Childhood

789 774 843 825 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

(1) As already described (I, p. 96), there is always danger of a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing involuntary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to postpone [846] the application of this medicine until four days after birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

843 825 789 [846] [961] [774] (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is steeped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will die during infancy, though the means by which the slain animals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 843 825

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 789 [761]

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die. 955 [761]

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying: 827 865 761 [784] [861]

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

h McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

827
865
[761]

If the father dies, she beats her son or daughter, adding: "Cry now. See what you did."

Henceforth the child restrains himself, but usually drastic steps are taken to reform an infant before his weeping causes any such misfortune. The parents of a petulant child request aid from a man of even temperament to cure him. The person undertaking the task prepares a large basket, watches until he notices the youngster crying and displaying bad temper, then seizes the offender, thrusts him into the basket and hangs it in the doorway, free to move with every stir of the child shut within.

"Cry as much as you like now," he says. "If you become hoarse like a heron you will turn into one of those birds."

This threat is based on an ancient story describing how a child to whom this was done changed into a heron and flapped away in bird form. Sometimes the man says that the same will happen to the child, or simply that he will be able to fly like a heron. All day he is left suspended, no one heeding his sobbing and howling, but in the evening he is taken down, petted, and told not to be naughty again. This medicine always cures a petulant child who can thenceforth be held to ridicule by being reminded that he is "A Basket Boy." The same remedy is often employed for a quarrelsome brother and sister who are shut up together.

865
861

To Cure Disobedience and Rudeness

If a child is persistently rude and disobedient to his parents, they request the assistance of a man of even temperament to cure him. The person selected must be one who is never angry, and who attends to his own business in a placid, quiet manner. The mother and father discuss who is best fitted by character to help their erring child and then ask his aid, promising a suitable recompense. If the man accepts the task, he waits till he notices the child crying peevishly. Running to him, he holds the youngster firmly and, in spite of this strug-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

757 throw it in through the smoke-vent. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[774] [773] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *xsiaił* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. The breaking of one of these taboos causes his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care. [761]

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

[424] Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for generations in certain families. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. It is the [424] property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES

"Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. None the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old men carefully preserve a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon.

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Nootka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required.

755 *For Insanity*

177 The Bella Coola have no medicine for this disease, although they are familiar with one used by the Kwakiutl, which was applied not long ago to a Rivers Inlet youth by two old women, one from Newitty and the other from Dzoldzoas. They exhumed a recently buried corpse, took a small piece of skin from the left side of the base of the neck, left this for twenty-four hours in a small stream, and then allowed it to steep for another twenty-four hours in a cup filled with water. This liquid was drunk by the patient who immediately recovered his sanity. He was first given water in which had been boiled needles from the yellow cedar; this strengthened him and prevented a relapse. The patient, now cured, observed continence for a year; failure to obey this injunction would have caused his death.

[765] [761] The Bella Coola assume that this remedy is the property of Kwakiutl ancestral families who alone are entitled to use it. The practitioners are always suitably recompensed and do not undertake the treatment except at the request of one of the patient's relatives. Kwakiutl experts have been brought to Bella Coola several times within recent years to cure cases of insanity, but great secrecy is maintained concerning the methods employed. They are considered to be effective, in proof of which the attention of the writer was directed to two men who were said to have been raving lunatics before undergoing a Kwakiutl treatment. It is probable that the individuals had been subject to periodic fits of insanity and that a temporary improvement was reported as a definite cure.

757 *For Venereal Disease* (four remedies)

(1) Boil scrapings of false huckleberry roots in water for a long time and drink the decoction. If it is too strong, add more water.

(2) Pound *sha'tsuls*, a kind of fungus, in water and drink the brew.

"Someone is calling your name."

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: "Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle like this runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole band in Queen even immediately to see how long has been dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be present should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's head, say'nim, and throw it away. No explanation of the custom is known.[a]

[a]This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 366.

informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he seems to possess, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *Saliscier* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been extracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a dancer to recover it for him. The expert presses his hands, warms them as a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *Saliscier* which he inserts into the lone's neck.

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should ever be entertained and ill them with profound respect for the *Saliscier*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become conventional; those who are not members of the society believe and do not use the claims.

Another source of strength claimed by the *Saliscier* is ability to witness and initiate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Warmid* a prior to the entry of *Mgunsha*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at its time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *Saliscier* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less favoured fellows? Presents are given also every dance to *Warmid* a and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Mgunsha* arrives, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth hurriedly, and in the crush at the narrow doorway dismay overwhelms many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *Saliscier* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened.

the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed and songs are sung describing what he now does, and the dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated divine symbolically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to life. They know the victim, under ordinary circumstances he could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is due to the aid given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of an elaborate deception. At all times the Indians are eager to make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to some of the dangers to which Indians are exposed, a fiction readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral rites.

Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a Cannibal to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the performance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is equally well known that his specific power has been brought to this earth and is located in one particular spot. He therefore must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and at that time his Cannibal name, carrying with it the prerogatives of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was deposited for safekeeping in a repository, *nuxkiqamis* (also called *nuxt'qimi*), by the supernatural woman *Awi'lkmaklaxa*. Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain his power a Cannibal initiate must go there, actual contact with his patron being unnecessary. Every Cannibal prerogative has its repository and in each of these is *Awi'lkmaklaxa*; she is one, yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots, corresponding to the many hundred Cannibal prerogatives. She

[illegible] E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[illegible] last century it has become customary to explain the [illegible] of a mask as due to a sudden call to the beaver.

Another means by which the *Initiates* protect themselves from [illegible] non-members is by the use of spies. The marshals (fig. 18) of the society select some intelligent youth and, with the consent of his father, or other guardian, to make him a spy. If this is granted, the youth is lured into the woods and carried forcibly to the sacred meeting-place, where he finds the entire *Initiate* of his village seated, an awe-inspiring band. They explain to him the dances used, show him the whistles and other [illegible]ment, and instruct him that it is his duty to inform them if he hears any uninitiated person casting doubts on the [illegible] of the society. Proud of his trust, and fearful of what would happen should he fail to carry out his duties, the spy begins his work. Ignorant of his knowledge, the uninitiated have no objection in talking with him and if he hears one of them expressing doubts as to the powers of the society, or telling that he has seen the sacred meeting-place or some of the regalia, he at once notifies one of the marshals. The [illegible] person is then initiated. Thus the *Initiate* are constantly recruiting their strength from the most intelligent [illegible], thereby adding to the influence of their society and lessening the dangers from non-members.

Sometimes a man is forced to undertake the task on account of a great knowledge of *Initiate* matters. The following incident, [illegible] by a spy, is worth recording as a concrete example of this point:

Between 1870 and 1880, a Rivers Inlet Canoe[illegible] performed the Cannibal dance in Bella Coola, presumably being entitled to do so by a Bella Coola name and prerogative. During his period of seclusion he died from a sudden hemorrhage, and the uninitiated were told that he had been carried away to the mysterious regions of the sky, the customary explanation in such circumstances. Some afterwards some Bella Coola returned from Victoria, and an old woman told them the news, ignorant of the fact that an uninitiated had of Rivers had entered the house and was listening eagerly. A sudden movement betrayed his presence to the horrified *Initiate* and the boy fled, terrified at the turn of events.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

*595 [424] [776] *Ax'ítwulcais*. They may be termed marshals of the society. Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly validated by presents to the *kukwícat*, in addition to a *tsaíat* prerogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *tsaíat* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a non-member is over-inquisitive. *595 [88 If any member of the society should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *tsaíat* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *tsaíat* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the marshals. The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for • [761] a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being wounds the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*595 [424] [553] Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house where a *tsaíat* dance is taking place and carefully concealed from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *Ax'ítwulcais* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and duly made valid by presents to the *kukwícat* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwulcakais, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

J: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

Frequently the marshals and associated *kukwiac* depute others to act as their executioners. Sometimes a shaman who is also a *kwiac* is asked to slay the offender, or a *kwiac* in whose ancestral family a knowledge of means for secret murder has been handed down for generations may be called upon. The executioner is told that if he fails he will himself be killed. Although no Bella Coola would admit that a person so charged had committed murder by other than magical means, it appears highly probable that such was the case. It is believed that long ago the *kukwiac* were able to kill an offending uninitiated person by drawing forth his spirit, wrapping it in hundred cedar-bark and casting it into the fire. The victim would die within a short time.

The desire to carry out *kwiac* ceremonials with proper dignity and ritual not only acts as a strong bond of union among members of the society in a single village, but between those in different towns and even in different tribes. When a marshal has struck a *kwiac*, the ceremony, whatever it may be, is at once stopped. Two *kukwiac* are sent off to bear the tidings to the nearest village up the valley, and two more to the one below. The messengers go beneath the house in which a dance is taking place and knock on the floor of the back-room. Someone presently hears them and a *kwiac* goes out to investigate. When the envoys have told their tale he returns, whispers to the singers, and the ceremony concludes for that night. As soon as the uninitiated, if any are present, have been ejected, the messengers enter with blankets almost covering their faces and seat themselves between the fire and the back-room where the senior members crowd around to listen. From this village two more *kukwiac* are despatched with the news which is thus transmitted with remarkable speed from end to end of the valley. When next the marshals are admonishing the *kukwiac* of their respective villages, they do not fail to draw attention to the way in which the law has been upheld. Conversely, if a marshal hears indirectly that there has been a flaw in the ritual of a neighbouring village,

J. McGovern E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

who have gone aloft and never returned," and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the lesson taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some doctor who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,* one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *Mēlqaxemaxq*, "The Activities Night," or *Nāxaxtmai*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *hahaxtsa* are filled with woe and foreboding as the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse.

The next day, *naxtsalilaxq* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the presence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's smoke is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald announces the *hahaxtsa* during the evening, he bids them remain to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *hahaxtsa* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *heiā*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *hahaxtsa* disperse.

On the morrow, the rope-holder's potlatch, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the

*If a Comshēt dies during the period of concealment he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that the power enabled him to cross a running stream to the land above, but when it failed him, as then he was unable to return to the friends.

**The creation of the Comshēt hunting of whales, repeated four times.

2:McDowell B-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and inventions to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in concealment, the *babaxsa'* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return.

Aqaxsiwa under his various names.

How his person helped him to escape the *Atlkum*, "Tiny of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths.

The rain-fires which are found on the edge of the far land above.

The kindly being *Semaqalalilam*, who gave him the necessary power to traverse the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one song for any Cannibal contains reference to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,* and the uninitiated are soon expelled. As the *babaxsa'* are saying, one member shall another praise X for what he has done, and give the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of completing

*There is a difference of opinion on this point.

2:Mc Dougall E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bella Coola NE6

(a) Recorded as song 910 (1-2), National Museum of Canada quartet, Reuben Robertson, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and instructor, assisted by *Tal'is* Charlie and Constitution Jones. 533*

(b) In times of Thrasher's ancestors had been discussed that is considered such a fate to be an inheritable tendency and perpetual accordingly. This song was composed by a successful gambler who after the drowning of one of his sons. [761] [827] [195]

(c) *Kwa nuxsta*, literally, the successive rising of the sun [on day to day; in] [illegible], the significance of. The span of life is shortening.

(d) This well explains the usual worldly theme.

(e) Raven. This is one of the rarely used deity's names.

(f) The reference is to an incident related about Raven in the beginning of time. He made, and gave life to a man who was the chief [illegible] sight. *Alquntam* wondered what the creatures might be and sent down one of [illegible] eagle-like supernatural birds to spy out him. Raven, ignorant of the reason [illegible] son's loss and with an idea that he was being carefully guarded, was similarly discomfited. The myth is recorded in vol. 1, p. 61. [773]

Shaman Songs

In contrast to the carefully prepared and locally worded 533* mourning songs, many of those used by shamans are extremely 756 tenuous. This is natural in view of the belief, already described, that the words and tune are given to each person at the time that he is cured. Those who recover [illegible] an illness [759] are convinced that they must have received supernatural instruction, and so soon begin to ponder on the song brought to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament easily persuades himself that the words which [illegible] to form in his mind were actually brought by an agent and, having thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The coherence of the text thus depends upon the laxity of the patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps, unusually complete.

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
In the beginning(?)	the life-giving power(?) was made,
[illegible]	[illegible]
that is what we have given	within them(?).

[illegible]

 192*

nemas, nemtin, nemamin: Member of same are said same occasional family as speaker. [601]

Nemkilum: Supernatural being who comes with *Nuskpaum* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Nemskilemut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

nemtit: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

nemumaskin: Toilet-hole.

nemlutmun: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

nemxilamamas: Exchange marriage. [589]

nenpalaltmun: Passenger.

Ne-nis: Place near *Nalkun*.

Nentemaklim: Raven name created by *xyxyxyut* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nenwaut di minus: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nenwaut ni minus: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nenwaw'as, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nenxilemauk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nenxilipaum: Supernatural being who created copperstone in the beginning of time.

Nenxilwauk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nenxlipaum: House occupied by the four settlers at *Nuxqualt* in the beginning of time.

nenx'l'stimut: The use of poisons medicines when seeing a ghost road.

nenxlmentimun or *nenxlmentimut*: 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Nuxqultlum*. [712]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nenxwa-uk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nenxwixilulmut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nuskpaum*, takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nenxwulu: Mother Hutsuts.

nenxyay: Fishermen with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching shadows. [424]

nenxyaymamalh, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a child in the belief that it is due to the supernatural creatures having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [334] [761]

Nenxyilmut, "Where Waters Emerge": Name of one of the four groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nenxyumdalelis: Raven name of a Bella Coola man.

Nenxyumdalelisiyus: Professional name of a female dancer.

Nenxyumtaxmus: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nenxzilmut: Raven name of a Bella Coola man.

Nenxzimauk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nenxzimtalh: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nenxzilwaxmus, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

Saiaił: Thunder, anthropomorphized.
Saiyaus: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
saláis: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property.
sa-ñálaxsam: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food.
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sa-ñáus: Consolatory incubus.
sa-ñáxsam: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
sáñkaiłaiłmas: Performers of *kusiut* ceremonies.
sañkaiłmás: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him.
sasal: Sockeye salmon.
Sasalquaiłáła Alquaxtsa: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sasamcoaiłáła: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land slides.
Sasaxłłáus or *Sasaxłłaiłmas*: One of the names of *Wanam Nuqłáła* as chief.
Sasaxmámas, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Heiltsuk man.
3—A subchief of Bella Coola hamat'sa and chief.
sáus, *saxsáus*, *sáñki*; *saxsáus pásaił*, *sáusmas kv*: Commands, especially one engaged in as synonymous with the speakers.
sa-sha: Spoon-shaped cross canoe.
Saśśas: Village on point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Saśśaxmaxs: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
sa-ska: Death, anthropomorphized.
sáskis: Whooping, crashes.
Sa-sut: 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Sa-sutmux: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
saxłłaiła: Rich.
Sa-skaxsaxs: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
saxsa: Pillow.
saxsáłas, "Pillowcase": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which an evil is present.
saxt, *saxsáxs*, *saxtsas*: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family.
Saxtsas: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
sáskaxs: Brothers.
sáxsáxsas: Tide flats.
saxłáła: Dawn.
Saxłałáłaxs: That part of Long" which did not fall to the south at the beginning of time.
Saxłałł: Village on Kwatna Inlet.
Saxsáłałaxs: Part of a guardian supernatural.
saxsqaxłáłaxs, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steel-head salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'xsxsa, "Hunting Place": Limits of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this.
saxtsáxsáxs: Leader of musicians.

92
121
173
431
251
585
431
463
825

761
412
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515
401
824
825

105
721

2: McDougall E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEh Bellacoola NEA

[illegible]: Saving figure.
[illegible]: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[827] [illegible]: Movable bone-like ornament which can be raised on a cedarwood rod.
[illegible]: 1—Supernatural burning woman, or perhaps burning head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[829] [illegible]: Each crested canoe in festival initiation rites.
[832] [illegible]: River's run for salmon.
[illegible]: Exiles.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
[illegible]: "The Strengthener of the Breathing"; One of Dlenqubbin-o's names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] [illegible]: Ancestral name granted on earth to a woman's man.
[illegible]: "When Marriage Spares"; Third moon after the winter solstice.
[illegible]: One of the river sculpins, the so-called sun fish.
[illegible]: "The Coming of [illegible]"; Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
[illegible]: Servants, the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[illegible]: "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon"; Second moon after the summer solstice.
[illegible]: "The Time for Eating Coho Salmon"; Third moon after the summer solstice.
[illegible]: Powers, given unintentionally, at the time when a proposal of marriage is formulated.
[illegible]: "The Ability to Walk"; Strength or stability as obtained for children by the supervision of their mother from their infant.
[illegible]: "The Dance"; Moon of the winter solstice.
[illegible]: "Time for Eating Spring Salmon"; Moon of the summer solstice.
[illegible]: "Time When Salmon Ascend the Rivers"; First moon after the summer solstice.
[illegible]: "One who Cures"; Functionary who produces services or factor and sound cure.
[illegible]: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[illegible]: "Time for Making Salmon Weirs"; Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
[illegible]: Easter name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Ancestral name of a Deer man.
[illegible]: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[illegible]: Celebrated conjurer.
[illegible]: Salmon-fish.
[illegible]: Sound-head-form.
[illegible]: Breath, or power of being alive, or element in the human body.
[illegible]: Slide-and-catch as played by two boys.
[illegible]: Man-bat serves as a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: "Time for the Use of Obsolete Sound-Pole"; Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[illegible]: "Where Is Spoke"; Deepest west mouth of the Bentinck River, accepted as give warning in times of danger.
[illegible]: Benign supernatural being who causes Canoe-kids to return from the land above.

[192]
[125]
Ahkolel: Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
Ahk-al-qulaw-kaw: One of the river sculpins.
Ahkolkolh: To gather cedar bark.
Ainsalaw: One of the four women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Ainsh: One of the four women to settle at Johnston Point in the beginning of time.
Alkaltlin, "Water Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101]
Anahkaw: Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Anutsalk: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Anuulkw: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Anuulq: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time, metamorphosed.
Apalkwalaxsiwa: Hunting of the water supernatural beings to obtain commercial services at the winter solstice.
asaalaw: Dreamable furnished by the supreme god for the first workers in the beginning of time.
asa'ulaw: Mask.
asaltin: Power or object which is taboo.
Asaxsiwaxs: Evil supernatural being.
Asaxsiwaxs, "Makers of Dead Wooden": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
asdzkwaxs qak'aaxs: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father does wrong his mother.
asdzkwaxs: Someone's fun.
Asa-Nuxnuxsta-a: Part of a possible expository.
asela: Female lover, especially a permanent.
asiaxsta: Male lover.
Asqa-a-ik: One of the four women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
asuta: The burning forth of light.
[171]
[131]
asutalaxsta: Commercial chastity.
asutalaxsta: The rites of practising commercial chastity.
asutalaxsta: Power acquainted by commercial chastity.
ayak: 1.—Shamans.
2.—Shaman name of a Bella Coola man.
Ayakalaxsta-a: Part of a possible expository.
ayala: Cedar bark mat.
Ayalaxsta: One of the four women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Ayalaxsiwaxs: Seaward supernatural women.
ayal': Shoreline.
Ayalaxsta-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[134]
[76]
[92]
[225]
Ayaxs: 1.—Ahnaxsiwaxsiwa, a supernatural being.
2.—Ahnu who performs shaman's work.
ayaxsiwaxs: Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
Ayaxsiwaxs, Earth Whale: A supernatural being.
Ayaxsiwaxs, "Angry Whale": Name given after the winter solstice.
ayaxsiwaxs: Polaroscope supernatural women that travels with the War Party of the Whales.
ayaxsiwaxs, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[193]
1.—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the mouth of grease which is known as a Ska.
2.—Nickname bestowed on a man.

4:Boas E-5 (1884-ca. 1890)292
NEA Bellacoola NEA

what comes to Gyaxgunow in Gan. Mythology and religion are so closely connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Skiqqla is Sun, the sea-god (compare supra sec.). The sign of the sun are his symbols. What purport to be so called Tsa'ets. In praying the Skiqqla look homeward. I obtained the following formulas: Ahkum ahk'ang, Tsa'ets, 'Look on us whom we are praying, Tsa'ets,' and Tsa'ets, ahkumkumsk'ilq, 'Take care of us, Tsa'ets.' Sun is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Shamanship according to the traditions of the Skiqqla, before the formation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is somehow, four deities lived on the earth: Shamanship, Tsa'ets'ont, Skilqal'ayuk, and Ga'ahk'ak. The sons wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to change it. Then he went to them below and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and took the corners, which up to that time had been supported between heaven and earth, killing the heavenly ones. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The sons ascended to heaven through the rift made by Shamanship, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Shamanship and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his cry. The raven was not content with the one, and exchanged it for one and had a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the raven's (an exception of, apparently, but is doubtful) The raven's son's small round receptacle found all around like an eye. The chief guarded it jealously and kept it constantly from one of the others of his house. The raven took this to earth and stayed in his own form, and resorted to a ruse. He smeared the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond swallowed the leaf and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly and allowed him to play with the receptacle. This was what he desired. He one day of the house, broke it and flew away in the shape of a raven.

When the sun had thus been created Shamanship said, 'Let us make men.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Skilqal'ayuk said to him, 'Let [illegible] Finally, Tsa'ets'ont carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Shamanship gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to speak salmon, to build houses. He made them ceremonies, but was afraid they would refuse to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by men.

The Skiqqla believe that Shamanship and his brothers will continue to give new ideas to men. They say that they are hungry of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, the idea given to him by Shamanship.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

The soul is believed to dwell in the eyes. It is similar in shape to a bird [illegible] to an ego. If the skull of the egg breaks and the soul flies away he cannot exist [illegible]. Shamans are able to see soul in crystals and

having charge of the birth of all animal beings. While she is rocking the cradle, she sings,—

"[illegible]

[illegible]"

Another deity living in the House of Myths is the mother of [illegible], called Nusta'nuqa (Plate X, Figs. 3 and 4), the daughter of Snukqa'nx.ten. It seems that this last name means "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the sun is believed to move on his path towards the west, face forward, and consequently during the spring months towards the sky moving towards the right; so that Snukqa'nx.ten, moving to the right, means at the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to sprout. Every spring Nusta'nuqa gives birth to all the plants in the order in which they begin to appear. A shaman is called to her aid by two old women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 8 and 11).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the coming year. Two beings called Kakkamal'ts. ala tsal'aoxa are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its centre, and swings like a seesaw. There all the men and all the animals are called to stand near the ends of the plank. When one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called Nanxlaal'xilas (their means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. Ax.k'umal'a has two children,—the deer, who is called Nusta'lacxilas Ax.k'umal'a, that is, "the deities son of Ax.k'umal'a" (Plate VII, Fig. 6), and LaxaxLa'is Ax.k'umal'a. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While Sisaa and Ax.k'umal'a are principally concerned with the fates of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of men. Their daughters are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively Nanxaxalal'a, or Qaxk'a'xaqoxun (Plate VIII, Figs. 1–4). These brothers are Nan.qal'laxala ("the one who finishes his work by chopping once"), Yal'alaxsk ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing once"), Nan.lqal'laxala ("the one who finishes his work by cutting once"), and X.ha'lak'. They have a sister called LaXqaxsElas. These four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they grow one inch a day. They taught him to build canoes, to make bows, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to